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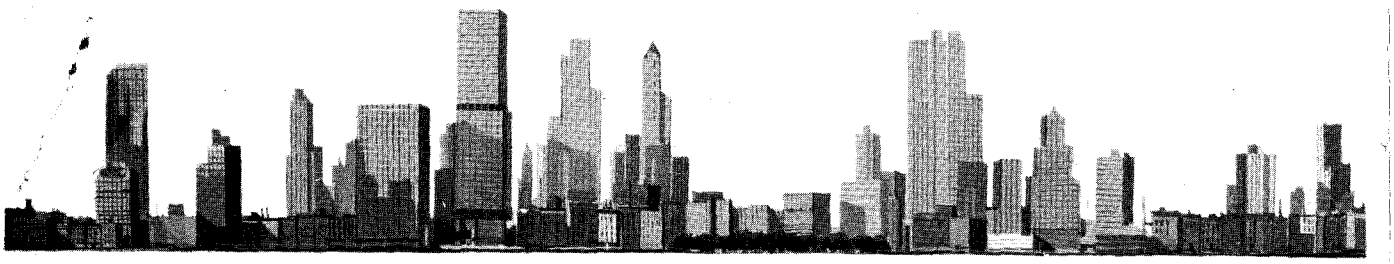
Should We Give Up on the Hard-Core Unemployed?

Is Violence the Quickest Way to Meaningful Reform?

Should Playgrounds Give Way to Parking Lots?



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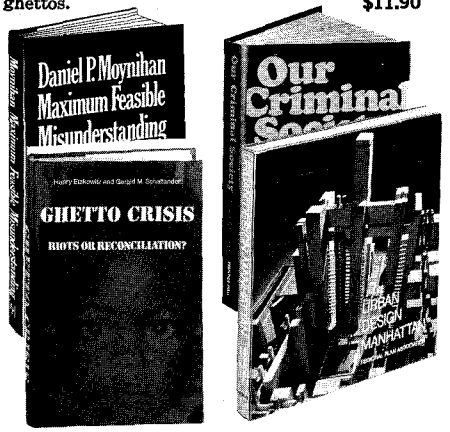

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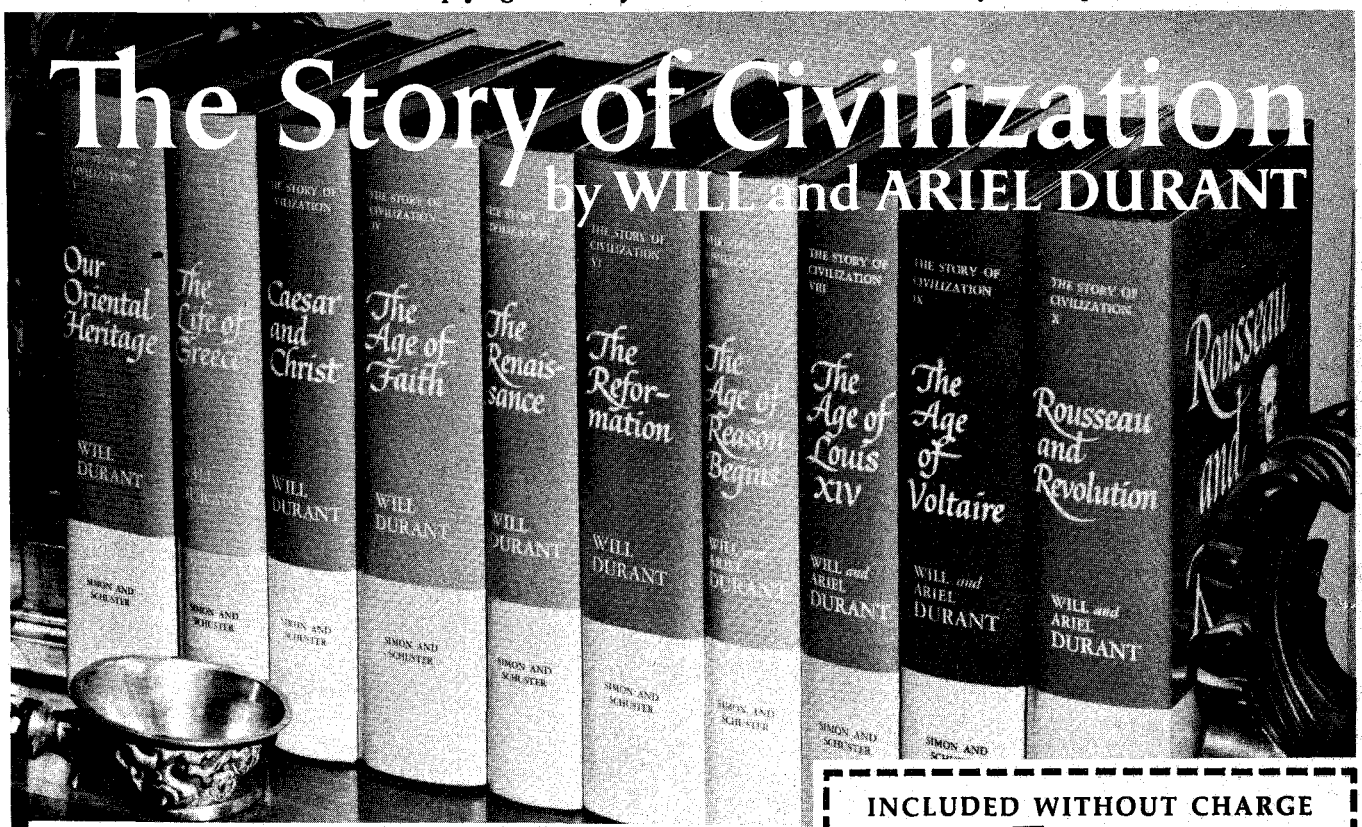

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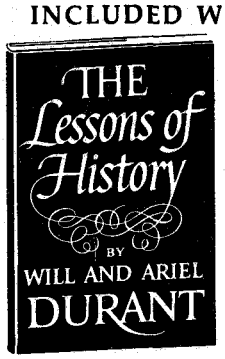

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The news is unpredictable but here are some scheduled highlights for April.

It Couldn't Be Done. Salute to American workers and know-how for "impossible" achievements. Thursday, April 2 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Unexplained. Exploration of mysteries of science in astronomy, biology, medicine, chemistry. Friday, April 3 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Cinderella. Rodgers and Hammerstein musical starring Ginger Rogers, Walter Pidgeon, Celeste Holm, Leslie Ann Warren. Friday, April 3 (7:30-9 pm).

Discovery. Exploring Valley of Mexico; Lost World of the Mayans; Remarkable World of Seals and Sea Lions; Louisiana Purchase. Sundays, April 5, 12, 19, 26 (11:30-12 Noon).

NBC Experiment in Television. Pinter People, with British playwright; Moby Tick, original drama; Lost Valleys of West Irian, anthropological study. Sundays, April 5, 12, 19 (5-6 pm).

This Land is Mine. A look at America's beauty and why it must be preserved. Monday, April 6 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Now. Save on Your Taxes With Sylvia Porter, Part III; Black Panthers; Ecology Teach-in; TBA. Mondays, April 6, 13, 20, 27 (10:30-11 pm).

Pollution is a Matter of Choice. NBC White Paper on environmental decay. Tuesday, April 7 (7:30-8:30 pm).

42nd Annual Academy Awards. Presentations of Motion Picture Academy "Oscars." Tuesday, April 7 (10 pm-conclusion).

Hey, Cinderella. Tales from Muppetland—Spoof of Cinderella story using life-size muppets. Friday, April 10 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Adventure. Deepest Dive in History and Sacred Well of Chichen Itza; Voyage: Sail Around the World with Five Men and a Girl. Fridays, April 10, 17 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Apollo 13 Moon Mission. Liftoff, landing, moon walks, splashdown, other events, as they happen. Saturday, April 11—Tuesday, April 21.

The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau. Night of the Squid; Return of the Sea Elephants. Sunday, April 12 (7-8 pm); Thursday, April 23 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Holland Against the Sea. National Geographic special on Netherlands. Tuesday, April 14 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Toby. CBS Children's Hour—Problems of gifted 9-year-old boy transplanted to a small town explored in Art Wallace's original drama. Saturday, April 18 (12:30-1:30 pm).

The Tony Awards. Prudential's On Stage—Annual event honoring achievements in the theatre. Sunday, April 19 (10-11:30 pm).

Health in America. CBS Reports—Three programs examine America's health. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, April 20, 21, 22 (10-11 pm).

Expo '70. Report on Japan's exposition. Friday, April 24 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Mission Possible: They Care for the Land. Struggle to prevent drainage of Florida's Big Cypress Swamp. Friday, April 24 (10-11 pm).

Cry Help! NBC White Paper on Mentally Disturbed Youth. Study of three mentally ill teenagers. Saturday, April 25 (7:30-9 pm).

Arthur Rubinstein. The life and art of the famed pianist. Sunday, April 26 (4:30-6 pm).

Marvelous! Magnificent! The Metropolitan Museum! Visual variety on Museum's centennial; NYC Mayor Lindsay, host. Sunday, April 26 (6:30-7:30 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday through Friday: Sunrise Semester/The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sesame Street/Misterogers' Neighborhood

Tuesday: First Tuesday (appearing first Tuesday each month)/CBS News Hour

Saturday: The Banana Splits Adventure Hour/Jambo/ABC's Wide World of Sports

Sunday: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up And Live/Camera Three/Bullwinkle/Discovery/Frontiers of Faith/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Directions/Issues and Answers/G-E College Bowl/Wild Kingdom/The Wonderful World of Disney

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also for noteworthy local programs.

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JAMES BEARD OUTDOOR COOKBOOK, Beard. (Ridge Press)	12.50	5.89
MYRA BRECKENRIDGE, Gore Vidal (Little, Brown)	5.95	2.95
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Title	List Price	Card Price
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Bad News for Nixon

Sitting here in Washington, trying to make sense of it all, we have, we hate to admit, a gathering foreboding. It's bad news for Mr. Nixon we fear and, alas and alack, that means bad news for America.

Up till now he's been throwing out policies; now the results are coming back at him. Let's run over some of them. On the economic front Administration advisers frankly admit the inflation didn't yield as expected. They did everything the book said but the economy didn't play by the rules. We are now almost certainly headed into a recession (mild, we hope) with inflation at the same time. Many Presidents are bothered with one or the other. Mr. Nixon has both.

Industrial strife: this is natural enough, really, if you're willing to look at some boring statistics. Corporate profits after taxes have zoomed in the inflation (up $3.5 billion since 1967). So have Wall Street dividends (up $3.1 billion). Congress has boosted its own salaries to $42,400 (40 percent) and the President's by 100 percent. Corporate tycoons have followed suit.

And what's happened to the worker? Why, the "forgotten American" that the President is so anxious about, can't make ends meet: the average industrial worker with three dependents got $88.06 a week in 1965 (after subtracting income taxes and social security) and $87.27 in 1969 (adjusted prices). After four years' frantic running, he's in the same place! Postal workers were told to wait. Make no doubt of it, there's going to be more turbulence. And the politically minded Administration has just decided that recession is worse than inflation (with an election ahead) and has switched signals. It is easing curbs on price rises although, as *Business Week* says, "inflation is still rolling at undiminished speed.

So how about Vietnam? Mr. Nixon's November 3 speech was a political masterpiece. Everybody said so. He would negotiate, he would Vietnamize, and he would gradually withdraw, all at once – something for everybody. The nation relaxed; "he's a genius," people said. But five months later and now skeptics are asking more boldly: Can the South Vietnamese really win when Americans withdraw? And can we actually "negotiate" when the key issue is, Who runs Saigon? – and we back the Thieu-Ky regime to the limit?

Nearly everybody agrees the war can't be "won" militarily; somehow or other the longest war in our history must be negotiated out. Yet for the last four months of the 14 months of the new Nixon "era of negotiation" the top place in our team in Paris is vacant. The Communists won't negotiate with a subordinate; Mr. Nixon doesn't act. We back Thieu. Stalemate.

And the war itself? Marijuana, we learn, is widespread. We hear of worse vices. There is this trial of the young first lieutenant who ordered the slaying of an unarmed Vietnamese civilian. There is the Mysong massacre. What else goes on we don't know. We close our minds if we can. And over 41,000 Americans dead.

Well, that's Vietnam. So why blame the President? Mr. Nixon didn't make the war! He just supported it when he was out of office and said he would end it, in office. There was a moment, perhaps, when he could have got us out after he was inaugurated; he didn't, and now there are Laos and Cambodia. The Army brass want a six months' delay in troop pull-outs. And public weariness is reflected in Massachusetts where the state legislature, quaintly enough, talks about testing the legality of the whole thing.

An Age of Midgets

Then there's the toughest problem of all – Mr. Nixon and race. At the Gridiron Club annual banquet here recently, the President stole the show. He sat on the stage with one piano and Spiro Agnew sat at another, and no sooner would the President start a tune than Spiro would cut in with Dixie. Everyone got the point. Oh, it was funny, I tell you! In that great crowd of newsmen and their powerful guests there were only two blacks. They may not have thought it was so amusing.

As we appraise the mood of America it is as disturbed, uneasy and anxious as it has not been for a long time. Maybe things will quiet down but our instinct warns of confrontations ahead. It is a cliche to recall Mr. Nixon's promise to bring us together but, anyway, he hasn't done it.

It got so confused on integration that Mr. Nixon decided to formalize his position once and for all and produced his 8000-word statement. "What we need most at this juncture in our history," said Father Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame and Mr. Nixon's own chairman of the US Civil Rights Commission, "is a great positive statement." He appealed for a clarion call. What he got was a dry, legalistic document.

"Just when the nation demanded moral leadership from the President on the most crucial human problem we face," wrote Hugh Sidey earlier in *Life*, "almost none was forthcoming."

Again and again the President said he would be guided by the *courts*, he would follow the *courts*, let the *courts* decide. Mr. Nixon attacked the Supreme Court during the election. Now his nominations to the Court seem to demean it. In this age of doubt and uncertainty the Supreme Court is a beacon to many. Take faith in the Court away from the frustrated and heartsick black leadership and the situation may well slip over into violence. Yet in an age of midgets, Sen. Hruska defends the right of the mediocre to climb into the seats of the great body. The Administration is afflicted with creeping mediocrity.

Notes: Big Ed Muskie, warming into his Presidential candidacy, promises a speech a week in the Senate until Mr. Nixon names a successor to Ambassador Lodge to negotiate in Paris . . . Economist Arthur Burns, now head of the Fed, who previously opposed Presidential moral suasion to help keep down wages and prices (jawboning) has been won over and is urging Mr. Nixon to use the device . . . Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark will probably reenter politics in New York . . . Larry O'Brien, new Democratic national chairman, says that the need to lop $3 million off the TV budget in the finish dash of the hairline 1968 election "cost us the election; it's really as simple as that."

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Thieu Plus Two

Partly in consequence of CIA skulduggery, the war in Southeast Asia has expanded. It is no longer a Vietnamese conflict with American intervention, and side effects in adjoining areas. As in 1953, Laos and Cambodia again are directly involved, and China may be. In a sense, both Indo-China and Mr. Nixon have come full circle in 17 years. In 1953, the French were becoming hopelessly trapped in a costly, unwinnable colonial war. The way out that was suggested, by no less than the French prime minister, Joseph Laniel, was settlement through international negotiation, with China as one of the negotiators. Vice President Richard Nixon was sternly opposed, and on November 4, 1953 he brashly lectured the French (who were the ones fighting and dying in Indo-China): "It is impossible to lay down arms until victory is completely won." The finger of duty and destiny pointed to the expulsion of Communists from Southeast Asia. The French, however, were fast losing interest in any such enterprise, with or without American assistance. Vice President Nixon nevertheless kept repeating that the United States could settle for nothing less than "victory," could not afford "another retreat" in Asia. In his view, the US had "lost" China to the Communists four years earlier and now was threatened with the "loss" of Indo-China as well. The tide must be stemmed. If the French could not carry on alone, American troops ought to get into the fight. Or so it seemed to Nixon in 1953, at a time when we had just begun to extricate ourselves from a war in Korea that had cost 33,629 American battle deaths.

In the upshot, there was an international conference about Indo-China, and China did participate in the Geneva agreement. But that the US did not, at that stage, become directly engaged militarily in Southeast Asia is not something Mr. Nixon can claim credit for. On the contrary, he did his utmost to push events the other way. He was overruled by President Eisenhower, advised by the Army Chief of Staff, General Matthew B. Ridgway. Ridgway investigated what American intervention would mean, concluded it would entail far greater American losses than had been incurred in Korea and said so to the National Security Council. That encouraged Eisenhower to trust his hunch against going to war in Indo-China, a hunch that became conviction when the French stronghold at Dienbienphu fell on May 7, 1954. Last week the government of France appealed for a

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new international conference, to try to turn the war-torn region back to "peace and neutrality." But there's little evidence that the French collapse in 1954 changed Mr. Nixon's mind about what this country should have done then, or that he has a significantly different estimate today of the limited power of a Western nation to pacify Southeast Asia by force.

Although Mr. Nixon has suggested that Vietnam is the Democrats' war, what Johnson did in 1964 is very much what Nixon wanted President Eisenhower to do in 1953. And although a great many people who voted for Nixon in '68 thought he had pledged himself to end – not win – the war as soon as possible, the Nixon Presidential performance confirms no such intention. Expenditures for the war during his first year in the White House were greater ($28.8 billion) than during Johnson's last year ($26.5 billion). Fifteen months after he took office, Mr. Nixon had nearly 450,000 troops on Vietnam duty, and the Administration talks of keeping at least 225,000 troops in Vietnam in 1972.

On March 14, General Ridgway wrote in *The New York Times:* "Many continue to argue that a military solution, or 'victory' in Vietnam has all along been within our reach, that nothing less would serve our interests." The better course, Ridgway suggested, is a negotiated settlement. The Administration professes to agree with that. The difficulty is that by negotiated settlement, it seems to mean a ratification of the other side's defeat and the certification of sovereignty for a South Vietnamese government not unfriendly to the US. No wonder the Administration downplays the Paris talks. More than three months have elapsed since Henry Cabot Lodge resigned. He has not yet been replaced. Hanoi's spokesman in Paris, Duc Tho, is reckoned to be one of North Vietnam's top ten politicians. But he won't talk to anyone of lesser rank. Not only is there no American ambassador to talk to, the South Vietnamese ambassador often fails to show up and sends a minor official in his stead. This is not, of course, why negotiations are stalled. Replacing Ambassador Lodge would make little difference (Senator Muskie gives far too much importance to that peripheral issue), if policy remains the same.

Meanwhile, the White House and the Pentagon calmly watch the war spill over into Laos and Cambodia, believing it buttresses "Vietnamization." Drive the North Vietnamese forces out of Cambodia and Laos, the argument runs, and the Thieu forces will have a good chance to come out on top after all. But since Thieu's military and the American troops combined have failed to eliminate the North Vietnamese soldiers in South Vietnam, where they are surrounded, what are the odds on ejecting them from Laos and Cambodia? It is more probable that Laos and Cambodia will be North Vietnamized. And if that happens, Mr. Nixon will have stood on its head the famous "domino theory" he helped publicize. The theory has it that a Communist win in one country leads to the downfall of non-Communist neighbors. Instead, our persistent intervention in the Vietnamese civil war may topple two non-Communist neutral countries, perhaps into Communism, leading to the possibility of more, not less, American intervention.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the deposed head of state in Cambodia, kept his country neutral and at peace for a very long while, and until recent weeks there was a reasonably good chance that Laos could stay that way – given some settlement of the Vietnam war. But Sihanouk long believed that the CIA had other plans and was busily plotting his ouster. This having duly occurred, it seems immaterial whether the CIA pulled the trigger, furnished the loaded gun, simply encouraged Sihanouk's enemies, or did none of these things. We're in trouble anyway. The Cambodian government that replaced Sihanouk is threatened by China and North Vietnam. Propaganda for US military aid that Sihanouk refused has started pouring forth. Whatever it does, the US can only lose in Cambodia. Either we are pulled into another jungle war when US "advisors," equipment and air strikes prove unavailing; or alternatively, we hold back and so seem to prove Sihanouk was right not to put all his eggs in our basket.

For those in this country, from Barry Goldwater to Dean Rusk, whose greatest fear all along has been the fear of a Communist Chinese dragon swallowing up all Southeast Asia, the corollary of the new Cambodian situation is intensified fighting in Laos. For what is the good of having Sihanouk overthrown, what is the point of robbing the North Vietnamese of their Cambodian sanctuary, if the North Vietnamese go on using the trails through Laos? Unfortunately, however, the North Vietnamese have the military upper hand in Laos at the moment. The US has had to call on artillery batteries from Thailand to help out. For over five months Senator Symington has demanded that the public be told just what we were up to in Laos. Now we know: no good.

The Johnson war was ugly enough. The Nixon war may be worse, as it enlarges the battlefield and increases the danger of nuclear war. On their visits to Asia, Mr. Nixon and Vice President Agnew went out of their way to voice full support for the Thais against all comers. And last week it was learned that in 1969 the Administration secretly supplied Chiang Kai-shek with four destroyers, 85 jet bombers, 50 tanks and other arms – $157 million. What for? Back in 1953, Vice President Nixon had mainland China in his sights. And that same China is President Nixon's excuse in 1970 for delaying our exit from Vietnam, for widening the conflict to Laos and Cambodia, and for building a very expensive new missile system. Where does he propose to stop?

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Consent to Carswell

In a letter to Senator William Saxbe of Ohio, at nearly the last minute, the President last week purported to raise a Constitutional issue in the Carswell confirmation struggle. If senators opposed Judge Carswell because on ideological or personal grounds they would have preferred someone else, said the President, they attempted to deny him his Constitutional prerogative of choice. Yet the President had the candor to concede that if allegations of racism such as had been lodged against Judge Carswell did have substance, the Senate would be entitled to deny confirmation, and no Constitutional issue of the Presidential prerogative arises. The issue had arisen, Mr. Nixon said, because the allegations were "baseless."

That, then, was the heart of the matter. And a Senate which is within its Constitutional rights in denying confirmation because of well-grounded allegations of racism is merely within its Constitutional rights in deciding whether or not they are well-grounded. It did not have to accept a Presidential assertion that they are baseless. So the President was not raising a genuine Constitutional issue, but merely expressing his own view on a question of fact that the Senate had been legitimately debating for weeks. As we wrote in these columns last February 28, the factual record included Harrold Carswell's signing, while on the federal bench, a deed selling a plot of land under an unenforceable covenant of racial restriction. That alone, and it was not only that, would have justified the Senate's withholding its consent to Carswell's elevation to the highest court.

Power to the Gunmen

Kidnapping diplomats for political ransom is the new Latin American guerrilla game. It threatens to outdo hijacking airplanes. Last month political outlaws in Guatemala snatched the West German ambassador and an American political secretary; earlier in the year they kidnapped the Guatemalan foreign minister. Last month also, a Soviet diplomat and a Paraguayan one were kidnapped in Argentina, an American air force attache in the Dominican Republic, and a Japanese consul general in Brazil where, last September, the American Ambassador was kidnapped. In all those cases except one, the snatchings have been the work of guerrilla bands whose aim, generally successful, is to exchange their prisoners for members of their own band who are in jail.

This makes the game look like a Robin Hood frolic, but in Guatemala it's deadly. Less than two years ago, the US ambassador there was killed in a kidnapping attempt, and shortly before that two other American diplomats of lesser rank were gunned down on the embassy steps. The Guatemalan guerrillas call themselves the Rebel Armed Forces, and regard the Guatemalan government as only a front for US imperialism. Whether or not it leans on American support as the rebels believe, the regime certainly has been able to govern hitherto only because it has had the support of the Guatemalan army. The army, however, has become increasingly impatient with what it regards as the Communist-coddling tendencies in high places, an impatience made manifest in the recent Guatemalan elections in the candidacy of Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio, who promised in his campaign to "act with energy and without restraint" in ensuring that "the whole weight of the law will fall on those who stand outside the law."

Colonel Arana got more votes than his two opponents but less than a majority, so under Guatemalan law it falls to the congress to elect the new president. Congress is controlled by the ruling Revolutionary Party which is in a state of virtual paralysis. Its candidate, Mario Fuentes Pieruccini, came in second. The smart money in Guatemala is on Arana and a military dictatorship for the next few years, making seven in Latin America, the others being Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Panama, Paraguay and Peru. These six have received $707.3 million in US military assistance since the end of World War II.

Housing: Too Little, Too Expensive

Finding a decent place to live is a tough job and getting tougher. The vacancy rate for houses and apartments is at a post-World War II low, and the number of new houses and apartments being built continues to shrink. Private housing starts this year may barely reach 1 1/4 million units, less than half the number the federal government says will be needed annually between now and 1985 to match supply with demand. What's more, home prices and apartment rents keep going up. Five years ago the median price of a new single-family house was $18,900; in 1969, $26,500. The 1970 average no doubt will be higher still. The cost of putting up a house has gone up dramatically; so has the cost of land. A homesite cost (complete with improvements) in Boston averaged $3694 in 1960 and $9106 last year. Comparable figures for Cincinnati, $4190 and $7438; Denver, $4106 and $5748; Washington, D.C., $4353 and $9268. In mid-1965, just before we got swamped by Vietnam and just before inflation started to perk (there's a correlation for you), the mortgage rate on a new house

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averaged 5.75 percent; today it exceeds eight percent. At 5.75 percent, a man with a 20-year, $20,000 mortgage paid $140.42 a month to the bank, for a total of $33,700.80; at 8 percent, he pays $167.29 a month, or a total of $40,149.60. The difference is $6448.80.

The Administration has now acknowledged the situation. President Nixon, in his special statement, conceded the country "isn't building the housing that is needed to provide adequate shelter for her people." Among other things, Nixon blamed five years of "Johnson inflation." HUD Secretary Romney said problems connected with "the current housing situation . . . truly are critical." He introduced legislation to tighten up on FHA programs and liberalize terms under which FHA loans are made. The chairman of the Federal Home Loan Board, Preston Martin, was saying meanwhile that the price of houses is increasing one percent a month, with no downward trend in sight. Asked if he would advise a family to put off buying a house in hopes that mortgage rates would come down over the next year, Martin replied, "No. The cost of building and the price of land are going up more rapidly than interest rates" might be coming down.

As if to make up for lost time, Nixon also said he was ordering increases in hiring and training of building trade apprentices, was directing more federal construction in the slack winter months and was seeking to allocate more federal money to support the secondary mortgage markets. In that same statement the President released federal grant money to restart state and city construction projects; ironically he had frozen those funds last September in what was described as a major move to free more resources for private housing starts. Even as Nixon spoke, his Administration was ready to release an annual report on housing goals in which projections pointed to a 100,000-unit *decline* in private housing forecasts made by HUD only a year ago. The report also talked about a reduction in earlier estimates of government-assisted housing starts for both 1970 and 1972, although Nixon seemed to contradict such a goal in his special statement. He called for a "doubling of subsidized housing starts," leaving most building industry economists puzzled as to how he hopes to accomplish this.

It's generally agreed that families with incomes of $10,000 or less have been priced out of today's housing market. Under a rule of thumb which says a man can afford a house worth up to 2½ times his gross earnings, a $10,000-a-year man should be able to afford a place worth $25,000. But lenders today demand up to 30 percent down on those dwellings and insist the buyer be free of other substantial debt. Few $10,000 employees can put up the $8000 or so required and practically all are hocked up to their ears paying for autos, appliances or the kids' education. More and more, the housing answer for the lower middle class is the mobile home; 190,000 were sold in 1964; 389,000 last year.

"Seventy percent of new rental units," Romney has testified, "have monthly rentals of $150 or more. Practically no conventionally built new homes are available for less than $15,000. In some areas of the country, few if any new homes are available at less than $25,000. Without the increase in mobile home production, buyers of low cost housing would be out of luck."

The poor, of course, are worse off. The number of public housing units being built has leveled off at around 30,000 annually. Despite the nobility of legislative intent (the Housing Act of 1949, for example, pledges government to provide "a decent home . . . for every American") and a multiplicity of federal assistance and subsidy programs, housing erected for the lowest income class is far below paper hopes. New plans before Congress include lower rents. So far Congress has passed the laws, but hasn't appropriated enough money; the Executive Branch (notably the Housing and Urban Development Department agencies) talks about various kinds of aid, but the private sector has not taken up the challenge. Why bother fussing with government housing when there is more money to be made, and much easier, in commercial construction? In the 1960s, the federal government abandoned its own direct public housing construction in favor of having Washington finance and guarantee indirectly private building of public housing. Maybe one answer to better housing for the poor is for government to get back into direct-line construction. Meanwhile, older public housing units are decaying, sitting vacant in the ghettoes. As a result of former site selection practices (public housing, like public school education, until 1954, adhered to a "separate but equal" doctrine), many public housing projects remain segregated.

The scarcity and rising cost make for a potential political bombshell. So we have a variety of complicated suggestions and projects, designed to pump more government money into the secondary mortgage market field and to pump more money into the savings and loans (which finance the bulk of private housing). Romney has been making some threatening noises about forcing financial institutions to divert more money into housing unless they move voluntarily; but anyone familiar with this Administration has trouble taking such statements seriously. The Treasury sought in February to recycle people's savings back into savings-and-loan associations, by refusing to sell eight percent Treasury bills in denominations of less than $10,000 (formerly the minimum was $1000).

Nixon's economists bewail the wage increases won by the construction unions, but eschew any guideline formula or even jawboning to put a damper on both labor and management. Romney's "Operation Breakthrough," designed to bring mass-production and

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innovative techniques to housing design and construction, is just getting off the ground. It has appeal, but final judgment must wait. A similar effort in Detroit, led by unionist Walter Reuther, is reported a flop. One thought in this regard: when it comes to a house, most people are pretty conservative. It's their biggest investment in a lifetime. Bankers, too, tend to shy away from lending money on a structure untested in materials and radical design. There is always the resale value in the back of people's minds.

The Nixon-Romney ideas touch on the main problem: assuring that lenders, particularly the savings-and-loans, have more money in their treasuries to take on more mortgages, and seeing that interest rates fall. But money invariably flows to levels where it brings the greatest return, and in boom times – when the amount of money around the country gets scarce in relation to demand – money flows to those sources willing to pay premium prices. Lenders find these sources among corporations rushing to expand or modernize and utilities whose wires and pipelines are overloaded and, if you will, to government financing a war. On the other side, savers (whose deposits are, in turn, loaned out by financial associations) prefer to buy things like stocks and eight percent bonds. The small homebuilder (and he remains the backbone of the private housing market) either can't afford the price of scarce money or isn't offered any at any price. Ditto for the homebuyer. At the beginning of 1969, insurance firms, pension funds and banks were putting money into the home mortgage field at the annual rate of $3.3 billion; by 1969's end, the rate was down to $1.3 billion.

Pushing more federal government guarantees into the secondary (or wholesale) mortgage market is fine; so is jawboning lenders into diverting more private money into housing. The housing problem needs more fresh ideas, more federal money (especially on the low-cost multiple-unit dwelling). Something is needed to persuade (through a type of federal subsidy?) localities to modernize building codes so newer types of materials and techniques can be utilized to check costs. Fresh investigations are in order to trim FHA red tape and to find better ways to encourage private developers to refurbish rundown houses and apartments in the big cities.

If and when Nixon inflation (call it "Johnson-Nixon inflation" if you insist) subsides, home building undoubtedly will pick up. Mortgage rates will come down, but historical tables show they rarely fall to the level from which they started up. Hence, in the next couple of years the home buyer might find himself paying as little as six percent interest, still higher than the 5.75 percent average of mid-1965. We'll see more new apartments, too. Yet, the outlook is for a long-term housing shortage of substantial proportions.

Robert Dietsch

Keeping It Cool On the Campus

If you ask a college dean what progress he has made during the past six months with respect to disruptions on his campus, the chances are he will tell you at least three things. First, there have been fewer disturbances during the current academic year than during each of the last two years. Second, this is due in part to the increasing responsiveness by him and his colleagues elsewhere to student demands. Third, coming to grips with protesters and their grievances continues to be an extremely ticklish and exacting occupation. Because this is a generally accurate reflection of the current situation on the campuses, most college and university administrators rightly oppose any legislative intervention by the federal government into university-student relations.

Pressure for legislation has been mounting since the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964. Since then an alarmed public has watched students seize buildings, imprison deans, destroy property, and beat up those who have disagreed with them. During 1968 and the spring of 1969, impatient congressmen introduced a flurry of bills designed to punish the offenders. Out of the indignation on Capitol Hill came two related measures. Section 504 of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968 provides that if an educational institution finds that a student or employee has been convicted of a crime involving force, disruption, or seizure of property, or has violated a lawful regulation or order of such institution, and that his act in doing so "was of a serious nature and contributed to a substantial disruption of the administration of such institution," then any federal grants or loans to or for the benefit of such individual shall be terminated for two years. Elsewhere, Section 411 of the Appropriation Act for 1969 for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare prohibits the use of any funds to benefit an applicant convicted of a crime involving force, trespass, or seizure of property to prevent officials or students from pursuing their duties or studies.

The fundamental difference between Sections 504 and 411 is that the former requires notice and hearing, and leaves the determination in the hands of the university rather than the federal government. Section 411 contains no procedural safeguards, and operates automatically. The requirements of notice and an opportunity for a full and fair hearing are recognized by the courts as essential elements of procedural due process of law. Yet they were brushed aside by former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilber Cohen in his testimony at hearings on the measures as mere "procedural niceties."

Not satisfied with this degree of intervention, Rep.

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Edith Green of Oregon and 15 colleagues introduced a bill, H.R. 11941, which is now pending before the Committee on Education and Labor. It would expand the penalties under Section 504 and require every educational institution receiving federal funding to file with the Commissioner of Education a comprehensive plan, or "certification" as it is called, setting forth programs established by the institution to prevent disruption of normal educational activity. The plan must prescribe detailed rules and regulations "relating to standards of administrative practice, conduct of students and faculty, and other university employees and the maintenance of public order and the continuing function of the educational processes . . . ," including a "table of penalties for violations of such rules and regulations." The Commissioner could order the termination of all federal financial support to any educational institution failing to file such a plan. The availability of federal funds to a college or university would thus be subject to the political whim of the Commissioner, who might or might not find the "certification" submitted by a particular institution to his liking. Filing a written "game plan" in Washington would deprive the university administration of the most essental requirement in dealing with disruption of its activities, namely, a flexible response.

Throughout 980 pages of hearings last April on this "campus unrest" legislation, which included the testimony of numerous college and university officials and educators, there was virtually no support for H.R. 11941. Indeed Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Finch testified that not one educational institution had terminated funds under Section 504.

Fortunately there is some basis for hope that the reasonably progressive Committee on Education and Labor will keep Mrs. Green's bill bottled up, and decline to report it out. The universities will get words but no help on this score from President Nixon. Last December 29, he declared that "the enforcement of discipline and maintenance of order in our schools is primarily a responsibility of the schools themselves. The federal government is ill-fitted to play the role of policeman on our college and university campuses." He thereupon signed an appropriations bill for 1970 containing more stringent and comprehensive provisions for termination of financial assistance than either Section 504 or 411.

On another front, some far more constructive proposals have been generated by the American Bar Association's Commission on Campus Government and Student Dissent. The 15 member Commission has on it former Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Dean Bayless Manning of Stanford; President Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame, Chairman of the US Civil Rights Commission; Past President Morris Abram of Brandeis; Mary Bunting of Radcliffe; and Whitney Young of the Urban League. Its report, though not yet considered by the full ABA House of Delegates, contains some suggestions worth noting.

The Commission correctly recognizes that there can be no specific universal guidelines valid for all universities, or even for all situations which might arise at any one university. However, there are some general principles and procedures which, if followed by the university, will help.

First, the Supreme Court has held that students are entitled under the First Amendment to full freedom of expression of their views. *Tinker* v. *Des Moines School District*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969). They must be accorded the right to associate or assemble peacefully, to picket, to speak and be heard, to engage in political activity on and off the campus, and to publish their views in print, so long as they are not defamatory or otherwise unlawful.

Second, to avoid misunderstandings, the Commission recommends a written code of conduct or similar clear notice to students and faculty alike of what is expected of them. It calls for established and consistently applied grievance and disciplinary procedures. The latter must include notice of charges, an opportunity to be heard, an opportunity to confront the evidence and examine witnesses, and the right to counsel. Counsel need not be a lawyer, but may be a faculty member or simply a classmate who may be more articulate than the person charged.

Administrators are urged to plan in advance on handling riots or other disruptions. Use of noncampus police to quell disorder, which usually fans the flames of revolt before it dampens them down, should be held as a last resort. Whenever possible students should be represented on decision-making bodies, particularly when the decisions directly affect them.

President Brewster of Yale has said that "forcible coercion and violent intimidation are unacceptable means of persuasion and unacceptable techniques of change in a university community, as long as channels of communication and the chance for a reasoned argument are available." Yet who decides when these are available? What if they are available but unavailing? The universities, as Columbia's Jacques Barzun points out, have become increasingly involved in projects for the government, industry, and the large foundations. This has moved the student from the center of the field to the sidelines. His attempts to reverse this trend through normal channels have generally gotten him nowhere, forcing him to use the only effective power he has left: disruption.

The resulting disturbances have been a sad chapter, but not without beneficial effects. Students are being listened to and administrators are minding and improving the shop as never before.

Ridgway M. Hall, Jr.

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The Nixon Watch

School Statement (I)

The President realized last July that, at some point in some form, he would have to clarify and declare his policy on school desegregation. He was disturbed then by the confusions and conflicts of view within his Administration that preceded and followed a joint attempt by Attorney General John N. Mitchell and HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch to set forth the policy in a way that would at once appease Mr. Nixon's Southern white constituency and believably assert his adherence to the rightness of racial integration. That effort was a conspicuous and disgraceful failure. It encouraged Southern segregationists and further beclouded the President's already cloudy moral stance. It brought down upon the Administration the Supreme Court's unanimous declaration in October that deliberate segregation in the public schools must be ended now. And it brought Mr. Nixon to the dismal point, in February of this year, of pretending to pledge "full support" to Senator John Stennis of Mississippi in his drive, successful for a time, to have Congress hold that deliberate (*de jure*) segregation, Southern style, and circumstantial (*de facto*) segregation everywhere must be treated by the federal government as if they were the same in origin, in effect, and in violation of law. This was not in fact the President's view. He dreaded the possibility that it would become the Supreme Court's view and his desire to do what he could to keep that from happening figured importantly in his decision, at mid-February, to prepare and issue the policy statement that appeared in his name on March 24.

One of five "Administration officials" who briefed the White House press corps when the statement was issued said that it was "rather uniquely the President's own work product . . . very much a personal document." Mr. Nixon put more of his own energy, time and language into it than he had into any Presidential document to date, excepting only his November 3 Vietnam policy speech. He labored over successive drafts through the preceding fortnight, through the weekend of the postal crisis, and until 10 pm on the night before it was issued. But the work and views of many others, in and outside his official establishment, also went into it, and some account of what Mr. Nixon finally admitted to and excluded from his "personal document" should assist in the proper understanding of a policy statement that was intended by its ultimate author to defy conclusive understanding. "Watch for context," one of the President's official explainers admonished the press. "Watch for context, because I think you can develop a very misleading or mistaken set of assumptions from taking a paragraph or part of a paragraph out of its context and trying to work with it." When a reporter asked the same "Administration official" why the President had not settled for the brief and reasonably explicit policy summary sandwiched at the middle of the 8000-word whole, the answer was that "if you had simply set out the principles on these two pages, the inevitable question would have been, 'Well, why didn't they do something about *de facto* segregation?'" This official had attended, on the preceding day, a meeting at which the question whether the President should deliver an abbreviated version on national television had been discussed. Raymond K. Price, Jr., a White House writer who did the basic drafting, had prepared two television drafts. They inevitably highlighted the policy summary and thrust into naked view the cautious negatives that largely characterize it and package for the segregationist South whatever comfort it may derive from the whole. The collective judgment of the assembled advisers was that "it comes out too negative," as one of them put it, and Mr. Nixon decided only on that day to forego TV.

The President had indicated in advance that he intended the statement to be in major part a lawyer's brief, *his* brief, setting out the law as he understood it to have been enacted by Congress and declared by the courts. Attorney General Mitchell contributed substantially to the end product, though mostly by indirection. The small task force that worked directly on the drafts heard from him largely through the President via John Ehrlichman, the White House assistant for domestic affairs. Mitchell took and pressed two positions throughout the long preliminaries: get the Southern integration issue out of the way before this year's congressional and state elections; and avoid like the plague any statement or action that would encourage the Supreme Court to declare *de facto* school segregation as illegal and unconstitutional as *de jure* segregation had long been known to be. Mitchell spoke through Nixon in the sentence of the statement that said: "We should not provoke any court to push a Constitutional principle beyond its ultimate limit in order to compel compliance with the court's essential, but more modest, mandate."

People who are unfamiliar with the Nixon operation might have expected Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., a committed integrationist, to be consulted. He was, but only from the maximum manageable distance and never in person by the President. Allen had succeeded, through a White House minion, in persuading Nixon to include in an earlier statement the flat assertion that desegregation is vital to quality education. He had drafted, for distribution in his own name, a strong statement to the same effect when he learned in February that the President was working up his own policy pronouncement. Allen submitted his draft to the White House and hoped to the last that it would be adequately reflected. It appeared only in a pallid acknowledgment that "under the ap-

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propriate conditions, racial integration in the classroom can be a significant factor in improving the quality of education for the disadvantaged."

The Administration officials who expounded for the President made much of his prior consultation with Professor James Coleman, chief author of the famous "Coleman Report" on segregated and integrated education. Coleman had one session of about 40 minutes with the President, found him to be an interested and perceptive listener, and discussed the subject at greater length with Ray Price and with Leonard Garment, a former Nixon law partner and staff consultant on racial and civil rights problems. The professor's view that social and economic status and environment have more than race as such to do with educational results is reflected in the Nixon statement, parts of which Coleman reviewed with Price and Garment. Nixon assistants put it about afterward that Professor Coleman had been invited, and had agreed, to participate in supervising the studies of the problem that the President deems to be necessary before anyone can really know what effects integration does and doesn't have on the quality of education. This at the time was a considerable overstatement: the Professor had not been invited to participate, he had not promised to participate, and (as he said in a statement of his own) he strongly disagreed with those portions of the Nixon statement that indicated to him that the Administration was retreating from the effective prohibition of deliberate segregation in the South. He strongly agreed, he also said, with the portions that indicated to him that the Administration was committing substantial resources to "the implementation of school integration" everywhere.

The only new and positive step toward integration that the President committed himself to take, beyond the measures plainly required of him by Congress and the courts, was in his undertaking to enforce faculty desegregation everywhere. This was the last element of any importance added to the semi-final drafts. I gathered at the White House that it was introduced in a kind of trade-off for something else – probably, the official explanations seemed to suggest, for a more positive and general undertaking to move against *de facto* segregation than the issued statement contains.

Mr. Nixon promised to add $1.5 billion – half a billion in the next fiscal year, $1 billion in the following year – to the funds now budgeted for educational purposes. This part of the statement has an odd history. It, too, was introduced at the very last, to beef up the substance of a notably insubstantial delineation of policy. Budget Director Robert Mayo heard of it only on the morning the statement appeared. The initial half billion has to come from previously budgeted funds, and Mr. Nixon told Republican congressional leaders that it would take him around three weeks to find the money. One of the budget bureau officials charged with finding it remarked to associates that he was "searching for funds in search of a program." The money may come and some of it probably will, from the little-noticed cushion of $1.2 billion in uncommitted "contingency funds" that the President allowed himself in his fiscal 1971 budget. The indications are that the President will know where the money is to come from well before he knows what he is going to do with it. Three of his assistants – Ray Price, John Ehrlichman, and Leonard Garment – reacted with something close to hysteria to a *New York Times* headline suggesting that it would be used principally to preserve *de facto* "segregated schools." They persuaded a *Times* reporter to take it back the next day. I recommend that all hands wait and see.

John Osborne

"Realistic, Sensible" (II)

The President's statement on school desegregation cannot have gladdened Senators Stennis and Thurmond, since it dashes their hopes for a regressing and reneging equivalent of the Compromise of 1877. There can be no further Administration support of, or neutrality toward, any Stennis amendment or any freedom-of-choice amendment or bill consistent with the policy that has now been set forth by Mr. Nixon. And yet, to judge by their public expressions, the statement earned no points with the leaders of civil rights organizations, such as Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. We have tended, said the President, to place "on the schools and the children too great a share of the burden of eliminating racial disparities throughout our society. A major part of this task falls to the schools. But they cannot do it all or even most of it by themselves." No such candid, public recognition of limits is apparently acceptable to those who have spent 15 years fighting for school desegregation in hundreds upon hundreds of Southern counties, because the struggle is symbolic as well as practical, and because they fear that any admission of limits will lead to backsliding.

As to symbolism, Whitehead has warned us that "the life of humanity can easily be overwhelmed by its symbolic accessories." The warning is apposite.

Fears of backsliding involve a political judgment on which reasonable men differ. At the very least a persuasive argument can be made that the greatest danger of backsliding arises from the failure to acknowledge any limits; that the most favorable climate for getting Stennis or freedom of choice amendments through Congress is a climate of confusion and uncertainty about the reach of the law of school desegregation.

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In the spring of 1968, again last fall, and in several cases since, the Supreme Court has declared that school desegregation could no longer be permitted to proceed with "deliberate speed." Schools would have to be desegregated *now*, converted *now*, at long last, from dual into unitary systems. The Court, in other words, has told us "when." Yet as Chief Justice Burger pointed out in a recent brief concurring opinion, of which the President's statement takes note, the Court has not in any detail told us "what" or "how." To be sure, it will no longer tolerate tokenism in the guise of freedom of choice, and it will require faculties to be integrated. But the Court has not indicated, one way or the other, whether racial balance must be achieved in each school, or whether zoning which causes residential patterns to be reflected in the schools is unconstitutional as such. The Court has not said whether the persistence of some predominantly or wholly Negro and white schools is unconstitutional.

Lower federal courts have gone further. The main drift of their decisions over the past year and a half has been toward requiring some measure of racial balance. But such decisions are not ultimately authoritative, and they have not been uniform. Even within a single jurisdiction, that of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, covering the deep South, one finds decisions that reject residential zoning, and decisions that accept it.

This is how the cases stand, and the President's statement contains a fair and accurate assessment of them. The lack of uniformity and certainty in the law is nothing novel. It is the condition that has prevailed since *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided in 1954. But the consequences of uncertainty are different today than they were, because the law is at a turning point. It is poised to make – or not make – a transition from the disestablishment of segregation to the imposition, in the South initially and then perhaps elsewhere, of a requirement of racial balance in the schools. In this situation of flux and instability in the law, and the consequent confusion, real and feigned, between segregation and racial imbalance, and between desegregation and racial balance, segregationists have been able to throw doubt on the whole process of desegregation, and to recruit new allies against it.

The distinction between segregation and racial imbalance – the one called *de jure*, the other *de facto* – is sharply drawn by the President. Desegregation, he says, is constitutionally required, is right in "human terms," has worked increasingly well, and will be carried to completion in the South and in places in the North where intentional separation of children by race can be charged to local officials. Integration – the achievement of racial balance in the schools – is in general a desirable goal. But the President is clearer than much public discussion has been about the educational value of racial integration. "The data tell us," he says, "that in educational terms, the significant factor is not race but rather the educational environment in the home . . . [and] that in order for the positive benefits of integration to be achieved, the school must have a majority of children from environments that encourage learning." Hence "providing better education for the disadvantaged requires a more sophisticated approach than mere racial mathematics." The unadorned assumption that the way to improve black children is to associate them with whites carries a suggestion of "smug paternalism." Moreover, a free and open society, which is the proper goal, "does not have to be homogeneous, or even fully integrated. There is room within it for communities . . . [for] group identity and group pride." Finally, any concerted effort to achieve racial balance in the schools faces enormous practical difficulties. Integration, therefore – integration, as distinguished from desegregation – is not in law, and should not be, the first priority.

To assist in the process of desegregation, to support alleviation of "problems associated with *de facto* segregation in the North as well as South," and to equalize black schools in plant and quality with white schools, the President proposes allocating half a billion dollars in the fiscal year starting this summer, and a billion in the following year.

The statement as a whole is realistic and sensible and ought to help greatly in keeping the process of desegregation on the rails. Unhappily, its impact on the general public has been blunted by its length and by its complexity, which makes quotation out of context all too possible and likely. The length and complexity reflect the nature of the problem. But one wishes that the essence of the statement, without the supporting documentation, had been delivered by the President himself, plainly and directly.

Unhappily, also, there are two ambiguities in the discussion of *de jure* segregation, which it would be well for the White House to clear up, officially. In setting forth the obligation of local school boards to take affirmative measures to desegregate their systems, the President emphasizes, as does the case law, that this is an obligation to be discharged in good faith. Good faith is proved by deeds, but the same deeds may not prove good faith in each instance. A whole history of deeds and attitudes enters into a finding of good faith; it is, therefore, an *additional* criterion, not an absolving one, and it ought to be clear that this is what the President intended to say. Again, he summarized the law of desegregation by saying that a "rule of reason" applies to desegregation plans adopted in good faith. As a summarizing slogan, the phrase is harmless, but it might be read to inject some new element into the practice of desegregation. If so, it is a totally obscure element and, as such, dangerous.

Alexander M. Bickel

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The True Working Class

Women in Russia

by Susan Jacoby

Moscow

Women in the Soviet Union fill a dual role that would not please Dr. Spock. Most Russians seem to accept that woman's place is in the factory and office as well as the home. Four out of five Russian women between the ages of 20 and 55 hold full-time jobs. Tourists from the West pity the gnarled *babushkas* (grandmothers) they see shoveling snow or sweeping sidewalks. Soviet women *do* do far more dirty, unpleasant work than women in the West – but they also have more opportunity for advancement and equal pay, in important professions that elsewhere are largely male. Most Soviet doctors are women, as are over half the Soviet Union's professional workers. Female judges and lawyers are common.

Nearly half of the instructors on university faculties are women, as are a third of the country's engineers and scientists. Of 1500 deputies to the Supreme Soviet – the highest Russian legislative body – 475 are women. They are not so well represented at the highest level of the Communist Party, where the real political power is. Only three of the Party Central Committee's 195 members and six of 165 candidate members are women. Nor are women especially active in the lower Party ranks. In 1967, about 21 percent of all Party members were women.

Russian girls do not grow up thinking of themselves simply as future wives and mothers. A bright Russian girl who wants to be a lawyer or doctor will never be advised by a high school counselor to try a more "feminine" occupation. (Such advice for girls is still as common in some American high schools as the practice of discouraging black students from applying to first-rate colleges used to be.)

Russians are not brought up to assume that a woman's career conflicts with marriage. A married American woman must go somewhat against the grain of her society if she is determined to maintain a career; the reverse is true for Russian women. Official propaganda either sharply criticizes or makes fun of Soviet women who do not work. A lengthy letter on the subject from a female factory worker who was awarded the title "Hero of Socialist Labor" appeared in *Pravda* this fall: "Now I want to talk about the reserve of worker strength, such as women who have skills but sit at home. There is one I know. I will call her Nina. She has a secondary education and took courses in bookkeeping. However, this strong, healthy woman has not worked for many years. She lives in dependence on her husband. Perhaps her family situation does not permit her to work? No, her two children are adults. What does she do all day? She sits in the courtyard with the old women, cracking sunflower seeds with her teeth and spitting out the shells, chatting about the latest courtyard news."

The official credo that women owe it to their country to work is as much a product of World War II as of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Some 15 million men were killed in the war; female labor was desperately needed to rebuild the country. The ratio of men to women, reduced to approximately 74 to 100 by the war, is climbing slowly but is not expected to reach the prewar level again until the end of this century.

Most Russian women work because the family can use the extra money. The average Soviet worker's take-home pay is roughly equivalent to about $121 a month. It is difficult to be exact about what this wage buys. A Soviet citizen may pay little more than a day's wages for rent but a winter coat can cost more than an ordinary worker makes in a month. However, women invariably insist they would hold jobs even if their families did not need the money. "I would not have any respect for myself if I did not work," says one woman engineer. "What would I do with myself all day – wait for my husband to come home at night?" In a detailed study of the Russian family, University of Wisconsin sociology professor H. Kent Geiger concludes that wives of Russian men with high-paying, high-status jobs are even more likely to work than wives of men who earn less.

Russians have trouble believing that Westerners consider professions "unfeminine." One Intourist guide, a motherly-looking woman in her forties who used to be a teacher, says she is always amused by the astonishment of visiting American doctors when they learn that seven out of 10 Soviet physicians are women. "Some of them seem very ill at ease when they visit our hospitals for the first time. I actually had one touring doctor who said it was 'just terrible' that so many of our doctors should be women."

Traditional prejudice against women in certain kinds

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Reed Whittemore on the humanities

The Children of Frankenstein by Herbert J. Muller

(Indiana University Press; $10.00)

One could build a college course around this impressive book: *Frankenstein 101*. The trouble is that the course would be called interdisciplinary and, as an old-fashioned academic, Prof. Muller hates the word. The book *is* interdisciplinary, though. It is a model of what one capacious scholar mind can do to assimilate ugly surrounding foreign matter. Muller has been assimilating for a long time; I know of no one in the Humanities quite like him. He has, however, plenty of counterparts in the Social Sciences, and he has himself become a double man professionally – he is a professor of both English and Government at the University of Indiana. Indeed, for his colleagues in English, the real interest in the book, whether as a text for *Frankenstein 101* or just as a book, may be in how well Muller can compete against the glib generalists without losing his literary and historical credentials.

I'd say that he does admirably, providing us with a fine mixture of precision and spaciousness; but he certainly is too fair. His insistence upon balance and qualification, and upon imaginatively seeing even the villain's problems and virtues must be why his book was printed by a university press. Commercial presses need more bite, more of the reformer's accusatory air than Muller can muster.

The villain of course is Frankenstein, who is not science but modern technology, and who has stalked, or rather begot, all of us indiscriminately from scientist to poet. Muller leaves us in no doubt about how monstrous technology is – and he reserves some fine polemic for truly ardent technologists wherever he finds them – but he remains convinced that the monster is here to stay; and has done good. In other words Muller is no Luddite, and he is critical of much of the ardent anti-modern, anti-science, anti-machine verbiage around. Hence to many of his colleagues in the Humanities, especially those sometimes called Leavisites, he must seem a dreadful appeaser:

> It is too easy to blame everything on technology. Our most serious problems are political and moral, strictly up to us.
>
> Intellectuals, the most searching critics of mass culture, have done as much to oversimplify its issues as have its commercial producers.

One of his reasons for criticizing the critics is that they haven't changed their line much in a century or two. William Blake's "dark Satanic mills," Ruskin's complaints about the ugliness of industrialism's products, Matthew Arnold's fears about "faith in machinery," all these remarks had a certain novelty in their time, but their modern equivalents seem tired, at least to the historically minded. Muller seems to be saying that we should have learned to live more easily with the monster by now – to live with it psychologically so that we are not constantly alienated by it, and to live with it practically, so that we can benefit by its virtues and control, at least partly, its vices.

But we haven't learned. Though we are "indebted to technology for everything we own, including our minds," we either hate it or serve it slavishly. The haters are the Luddites I have mentioned; the slaves are most of the rest of us: most engineers, scientists, businessmen, bureaucrats, systems men, teachers, warriors.

Among scientists it is the behavioral people who are most intimately concerned professionally with the effects of the monster, and the most readily enslaved, mistaking statistical data for people, and inadvertently working hand-in-hand with the ruthless manipulators for power and gain who always surround us. Yet off in the arts, where the slavery is denied, and where dissent from the technological culture is most vocal, we also find much work that seems merely to "reflect the dehumanizing tendencies in a society swamped by the abstractions of science, technology and business." In painting particularly, Muller says, "the assumption appears to be that God was a corny calendar artist."

Yes, *Frankenstein 101* could be a good course. Muller has already provided the basic structure for it; now all we need are the teachers to man it (but that, as he points out, is always the rub; teachers would rather be technicians than Renaissance men). The course would begin, as does the book, historically, evoking the good old technological days of the flint arrowhead. Then, following the book's lead, it would survey the effective presence of technology in various corners of modern life (Muller's categories number twelve, and would permit anybody on the faculty to speak). And finally it would, with the book, take a cautious look at the year 2000. The book would in effect serve as moderator, evoking the extremists and pairing them off – for that is essentially Muller's game.

It is an oddly unpopular task these days, moderating; the days call out for immoderating instead, and of this Muller is incapable – praise him. I wish though that he had gone a bit harder after the various specialists of the future whom he discusses at the end, men like Herman Kahn and Anthony Weiner of the "Commission on the Year 2000." About these people he contents himself mostly with being reportorial, as if he were awed by their delphic presence. His book is stronger elsewhere, where his tone undermines his balanced structures and he lets himself go.

We need more of the Muller who says we have "the highest standard of low living in all history."

At the National Book Award ceremony in March Muller outwitted his fellow panelists by observing that at least we don't have to worry about cannibalism any more: "We have so much DDT in us that we are all inedible." I wish he had gone further in his book with *that* line, or with the following mere footnote complaining about the trend in Public Administration to a different sort of DDT:

> Old-fashioned thinkers may remark that universities having institutes of public administration offer no comparable training in statesmanship, which would seem more important even though it cannot be called a science. One might be dismayed by a simple question: How many of the nation's leaders in recent years deserve to be called statesmen? They stack up pretty poorly when compared with the Founding Fathers.

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J. M. Edelstein: Fitting Farewell

The Journey Not the Arrival Matters: An Autobiography of the Years 1939 to 1969 by Leonard Woolf

(Harcourt, Brace & World; $5.95)

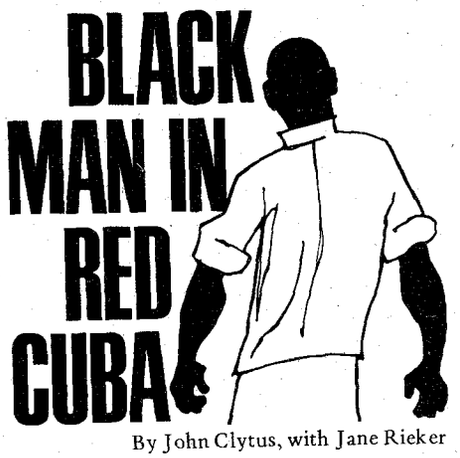
This is the fifth and final volume of Leonard Woolf's autobiography. He died in his 89th year, in August of 1969, only a short while after having finished reading proof for this book. If this last part of the story is a discursive one, repetitive, and reflective of an old man's disappointments, it is, nonetheless, the culmination of a biographical masterpiece and a fitting farewell from one of the most civilized literary men of the twentieth century.

The book covers the years 1939 to 1969 and almost half of it is devoted to the events leading up to and immediately following the suicide of Virginia Woolf on March 28, 1941. Written with a dispassionate clarity and a fine restraint which make it all the more moving, this story of personal tragedy is accented by feelings of gloom and despair about the war. The strong sense of inevitability about the catastrophe overtaking the world and himself is brilliantly suggested as Leonard Woolf describes Virginia's last days and the early days of the war. He interrupts himself often, for an aside, for a parenthetical comment or anecdote, in one case for a long description of the destruction of their house and the Hogarth Press in an air raid, explaining that he writes in this way because "life is not an orderly progression." Perhaps the most important part of Virginia's story, told here with the quiet and gentle quality which is typical of Leonard Woolf's great courage and honesty, is the letter which she left for him on the day she drowned herself in the river Ouse, expressing her feelings of fear for herself and sacrifice for her husband: "I feel certain that I am going mad again . . . I shan't recover this time . . . So I am doing what seems the best thing to do . . . without me you could work. And you will I know . . . I can't go on spoiling your life. . . ."

There are accounts of Leonard Woolf's many literary and journalistic activities during these thirty years, his work on the Labor Party's advisory committees, journeys to Greece and Israel, and his return visit to Ceylon where fifty years earlier he had spent seven years as a civil servant described in *Growing*. And there is a lengthy sketch of the Hogarth Press, bringing up to date the history of that remarkable and highly successful publishing venture which Leonard and Virginia Woolf founded in 1917 almost entirely as a therapeutic activity for Virginia, with no capital and no employees other than themselves. Between 1938 and 1946 the Hogarth Press was controlled by the partnership of Leonard Woolf and John Lehmann (he had previously worked for the Woolfs as general manager of the Press), and Leonard Woolf's version of the abrupt break in that partnership differs appreciably from John Lehmann's as he told it in his autobiography and in a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* following the English publication of *The Journey Not the Arrival Matters*. The truth concerning the "disagreement" between Leonard Woolf and John Lehmann may never be known; on the part of Woolf there is an irritatingly superior tone to the account, on the part of Lehmann there is an even more irritating note of querulousness in his remarks, and on the part of both of them a self-indulgent sense of their righteousness. But whether the break resulted because "John wished to alter the term of our partnership agreement that no book should be published unless both partners approved of its publication" or the difference of opinion about "expansion" of the Press, Leonard Woolf's comments about small presses and their chances for survival and success are interesting and valuable:

> . . . It would be more difficult, of course, today to do what we did in 1917. We had some fortuitous and lucky advantages. In Virginia's books we had an enormous potential asset; they were the economic rock upon which in the 'twenties the economic fortunes of The Hogarth Press were profitably based. Many of our closest friends were writers who were to become distinguished or even famous. I do not think it conceited to say that both Virginia and I were quite good at spotting literary talent and even genius in unknown young writers, and the fact that I was literary editor of the *Nation* during the early years of the Press gave me frequent opportunities to spot them. Again I do not think it is a delusion of conceit which makes me believe that I am a good man of business . . . There is no reason to believe that it is impossible that tomorrow or tomorrow or tomorrow there may not be a circle of young, unknown, brilliant writers whom someone might begin to publish on a small scale as we did in 1917. And there is no reason why he should not succeed as well as we did, provided he is a good businessman and is determined to limit his operations, refusing to listen to the John Lehmanns singing their siren song about expansion which can lure one so easily on to the Scylla of the take-over or the Charybdis of bankruptcy.

This concluding volume of his autobiography extends the themes of disillusionment and "fatalistic acquiescence" which Leonard Woolf introduced in *Downhill All The Way*. In reviewing the facts of the world in



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1969 he found "injustice, cruelty, intolerance [and] tyranny" and felt "pain compounded . . . of disappointment and horror and discomfort and disgust." For Leonard Woolf civilization, as he knew it, had started downhill in 1914 and had been destroyed by 1939. Hope and optimism were to become increasingly obscure, retreating further and further into a world of insecurity and barbarism. In reviewing his own life he even goes so far as to total up the number of hours he has probably spent at his "work" and asserting that they resulted in "practically nothing."

> Looking back at the age of eighty-eight over the fifty-seven years of my political work in England, knowing what I aimed at and the results, meditating on the history of Britain and the world since 1914, I see clearly that I achieved practically nothing. The world today and the history of the human anthill during the last fifty-seven years would be exactly the same as it is if I had played pingpong instead of sitting on committees and writing books and memoranda. I have therefore to make the rather ignominious confession to myself and to anyone who may read this book that I must have in a long life ground through between 150,000 and 200,000 hours of perfectly useless work.

Whatever the truth of Leonard Woolf's observations and his point of view, this judgment of himself and his "work" seems unnecessarily harsh and unjustified. It is strange that a man of his sensibilities, his many-sidedness, whose reactions were largely based on esthetic and ethical feelings, would choose to ignore at least two obvious and alternative conclusions—one, that the social and political planning which he was convinced would save mankind and for which he struggled so hard may have been neither realistic nor universally desired; and two, that his greatest achievement lay in the powerful effect of himself, in his personality, in his own writings, and particularly in this autobiography. If the latter thought ever did occur to Leonard Woolf he probably dismissed *it* as entirely unrealistic.

Why, in that case, the "200,000 hours of perfectly useless work"? Leonard Woolf's answer is, as he calls it, "the

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final excuse or explanation" and it illuminates the book's apt title:

> . . . in the eye of God or rather of the universe, nothing human is of the slightest importance; but in one's own personal life, in terms of humanity and human history and human society, certain things are of immense importance: human relations, happiness, truth, beauty or art, justice and mercy. That is why in his private and personal life a wise man would never take arms against a sea of troubles; he would suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, saying to himself: 'These things are momentarily of terrible importance and yet tomorrow and enternally of no importance'. And in a wider context, though all that I tried to do politically was completely futile and ineffective and unimportant, for me personally it was right and important, for me personally it was right and important that I should do it, even though at the back of my mind I was well aware that it was ineffective and unimportant. To say this is to say that I agree with what Montaigne, the first civilized modern man, says somewhere: 'It is not the arrival, it is the journey which matters'.

Peter Caws: Peculiar Charity

The Body of God: First Steps Toward An Anti-Theology by Eric Gutkind

Edited by Lucie B. Gutkind and Henry Le Roy Finch

(Horizon Press; $6.95)

One of the disadvantages of not being Jewish is that one can never be quite sure, after reading a book like this, that one's feeling of disappointment is not the result of a congenital defect of sensibility. Eric Gutkind was a Jewish intellectual, born in Berlin in 1877, who fled Germany in 1933 and lived in New York until his death in 1956. This book consists of notes and lectures from his later years, together with some passages from *Sidereal Birth*, his first major book which was published in 1910. On the front flap some earlier critic is quoted as saying that Gutkind's mind was "drowned in light," and in the Introduction Henry Le Roy Finch, who teaches philosophy at Sarah Lawrence, says that his words "have the obviousness of truth too clear to be seen." Perhaps that was the trouble.

The Extraordinary Production of Eggs From the Mouth

As he stands alone on stage, the Professor
Shows us he has nothing
Up his sleeve or under his coattails,
Then lowers his brows as seriously as a man
Thinking of being something else, and there,
Would you believe it, from between his lips
The white tip of an egg comes mooning out.

As softly as a hen, he seems to lay it
In his nested fingers. Another. He eggs us on
To laugh and gag for him, to cluck and crow
For the last things we expected or hoped for—
Eggs in both hands, in tophats and fishbowls—
Till he has so many he could quit forever.

But now with a flick of the wrist, seeming to think
Better of his wobbly bonewhite offspring,
He puts one into his mouth, and another,
And each one vanishes back where it came from
Till all his hatchwork has been laid to rest.
He comes to the footlights, gaping for applause,
And except for the pink, withdrawn, quivering tongue,
We see his mouth is absolutely empty.

DAVID WAGONER

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For my own part I prefer light that illuminates and clarity that makes things more intelligible rather than less so.

Not that Gutkind is always unintelligible; scattered through the book there are some striking and original theses presented with admirable lucidity – not many, though, and the impatient reader will never get to them. Mr. Finch, who collaborated with Gutkind's widow in the editing of this collection, has chosen to start off with jottings and aphorisms from the last notebooks – begun when Gutkind was over 80 – which are individually obscure and collectively indigestible. The more connected pieces in the later part of the book are themselves aphoristic enough; what they say is pronounced rather than argued, and they are loaded with the kind of suggestive opacity that comes so naturally to authors who are not quite sure whether they wish to be philosophical or religious.

The substance of Gutkind's message, as it emerges by the force of frequent repetition from this haze, is that man is the center of his own universe, his body the body of God, his function to contain or envelop Nature and to be contained or enveloped by higher orders of being. The themes are the themes of the last hundred years, from Feuerbach and Marx through Freud to Buber. The anti-theology of the title is a theologized anthropology; the enemy is alienation, the *Kizzutz* or "primal split" which is to be healed by a new *Zimzum* or "setting free"; the goal is presence, the fullness of here and now.

But Gutkind has a way of so implicating these themes with the traditions of Judaism, from the Kabbala to the German persecution, that he gives the impression (as, on a different level, Philip Roth manages to do) that the most basic *human* phenomena are really *Jewish* phenomena, so that one begins to question one's ability even to recognize, let alone experience, them. One of Gutkind's most frequent images is of God in the midst of the people, as *being* in some sense no more and no less than the Midst of the People. This represents a powerful and beautiful solution to the problem of the collective – of a kind that Marx never achieved – and explains in part why it is still a problem: "In genuine communism HE would emerge. The fear Man has is the fear of HIS emerging."

But it is the Jews who are the People. No outlook, it seems to me, that pre-

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serves this kind of distinction between insiders and outsiders can be other than divisive, however well-intentioned its author. It renders the universal, not in terms of the particular, but in terms of the peculiar (in the Biblical sense of that word), and in so doing it weakens, or even destroys, the universality it claims to cherish.

Charles Hightower: Vulnerable Rebels

Picking Up The Gun: A Report On The Black Panthers by Earl Anthony

(Dial Press; $4.95)

"I decided," says Earl Anthony in his prefatory note, "to join the Black Panther Party and *pick up the gun*, in April of 1967. That quality in the Party's style and program in those days which completely captured my imagination, and which probably impressed many others in the same way, was a spirit of existential commitment to the goals of revolution." Two years later he was expelled from the Party on charges of "opportunism" and "failure to relate to Party discipline."

Anthony's insistence on writing *Picking Up The Gun*, despite the opposition to the project by members of the General Committee in Oakland, was obviously a factor in his expulsion; but according to some ex-Panthers Anthony had left the Party in spirit long before his official expulsion. He left, as did many other members of the Party known to this reviewer, because of a profound disagreement with the Oakland headquarters about Panther alliances with such white radical organizations as Students for a Democratic Society, the Peace and Freedom Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, and the Communist Party.

"I think it despicable that interlopers continue to play black personalities and leaders against each other," Anthony declares in the closing pages of his book. "I think it unfortunate that black personalities, or leaders (those who actually command people), allow themselves to be used, pimped, in this way. I refer to the white Left who are always pitting black personalities against each other, ideologically, and to the mass media which use any differences between personalities to create a situation of drama and melodrama for the public. *I firmly believe that this is what set the stage for Malcolm X to be assassinated.*"

The primary worth of Anthony's account of his experiences with the Black Panthers is his chronicle of progressive dissatisfaction and disillusionment. In effect he tells us that the party he joined was not the party that kicked him out.

In 1967, the Party, led by Huey P. Newton and named Black Panther to indicate its defensive role, was a security force for the black community, a community that suffers from continual official harassment, generally referred to as "police brutality." Anthony's report concentrates on this first period. He describes the Party's development within the black communities of the West Coast, and its spread across the American continent.

The first public notice of the Panthers, then called The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, occurred in the black ghetto of North Oakland when the Panthers began patrolling the police. Black residents looked on with amazement and pride at daily scenes of two-or-three carloads of armed Panthers who drove around keeping an eye on police tactics in relation to the North Oakland community. When police officers made an arrest or stopped a black person for "questioning," the Panther squad would monitor the encounter, and often counsel the community person on his or her constitutional rights.

That the Panthers were extremely well-informed concerning their own legal rights became evident in their demonstration at the California State Capitol in April 1967. The party protested a bill, introduced by Assemblyman Don Mulford, to prohibit the right to carry unconcealed, loaded rifles and shot-guns, by sending a Panther contingent inside the assembly chambers at Sacramento with loaded rifles and shot-guns. The action, led by Chairman Bobby Seale, was legal *until* the Mulford bill passed, but it brought the Panthers, thanks to the media, nationwide attention as an offensive rather than defensive group.

The second period of Panther history began Dec. 22, 1967, when, in the author's words a "joint rally sponsored by the Black Panther Party and (the) Peace and Freedom Party was held in Hunters Point. It was actually the unveiling of the controversial coalition, and it marked the end of our

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honeymoon in the black community in general, and the black liberation movement in particular. . . ."

From the turning point and the subsequent alienation from such black movement organizations as SNCC, the Black Caucus in New York, the Black Student Unions at San Francisco State, UCLA, and other schools, the Panthers were led into still another period, this one marked by a sinister design to destroy them under the label of *public enemy number 1*.

Thus could FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover in July, 1969, call the Panthers the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States and render the following description of the Panthers: "Schooled in the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of Chinese communist leader Mao Tse-tung, its members have perpetrated numerous assaults on police officers and have engaged in violent confrontations with police in cities throughout the country."

Over-exposed and generally alienated from the black community and its major liberation movement organizations, the Panthers became vulnerable to the FBI and the local police. The result was the slaying of such party leaders as Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois chapter and his deputy Mark Clark in Chicago last year; the killing of Party Secretary Bobby Hutton in Oakland in April of 1968; the imprisonments of Chairman Seale, and Huey Newton, co-founder with Seale; and the flight into exile of Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

Picking Up The Gun tells a great deal about how the Panthers arrived at their present low state. It will remain for another report to tell the story of their redemption, which will occur only when and if they return to seeking support from the people and forces of their home base: the black community, USA.

Notes on Contributors

J. M. Edelstein *is lecturer on bibliography at the University of California at Los Angeles.* Peter Caws *is Professor of Philosophy at Hunter College of the City University of New York.* Charles Hightower *is Washington director of the American Committee on Africa.* Timothy Baland *is a poet who farms 80 acres of land at Clarissa, Minnesota. This fall Farrar, Straus & Giroux will publish* David Wagoner's *sixth novel,* Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight?

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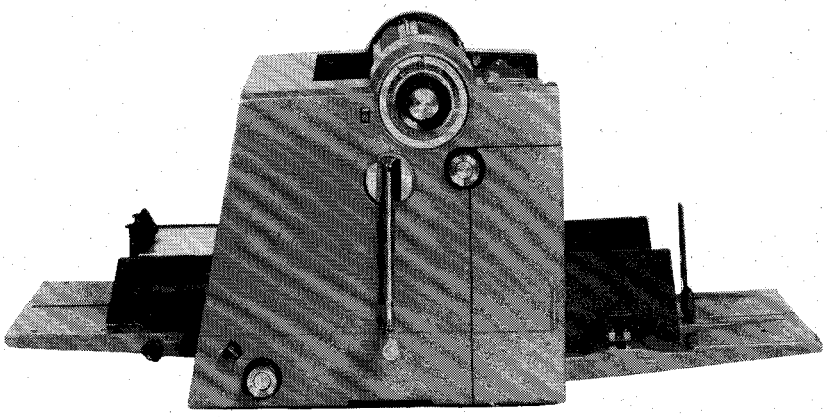

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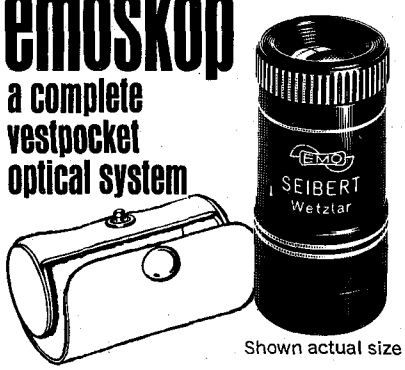

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Timothy Baland: A Skipping Stone

Earth House Hold by Gary Snyder

(New Directions; $5.00)

In western civilization, in religion as well as economics, the doctrine has been every man for himself. Now and then some acknowledgment is given to a group or a community: for example we are told "The family that prays together stays together." But ever since the demise of the early Christian love-feast, with its sexual connotations and element of shared delight, the intimate community of souls has been a thing of the past, or at best, of the underground, in the orthodox West.

Not so the North American Indian. Their main consideration was always the salvation of the clan or tribe or people. Solitary vigils on high bluffs brought a personal vision – but that vision was in turn used for the good of the tribe. As Black Hawk says, "Whites may do wrong all their lives and then if they are sorry for it when about to die, all is well; but with us it is different. We must continue to do good throughout our lives."

In his new book, *Earth House Hold*, Gary Snyder talks a good deal about Tribe. In a deteriorating ecological situation, the Tribe can save redwoods, if not move mountains. But in saving redwoods or everglades or rivers, the Tribe in effect moves mountains: it shores up and strengthens the spiritual life of each member – helps to re-establish for each the intimate connection between nature and man that the Indians knew without thinking. On one level, Tribe represents a world-wide community brought together out of concern for racism, Vietnam, ecological threats. But Tribe is also a particular group of people. The Hopi on their plateaus. The plains Sioux. *Earth House Hold*'s last chapter discusses Gary Snyder's communal life on Burning Island off the coast of Japan: a community of 40 or 50 souls, fishing and growing sweet potatoes for daily sustenance; labor, meals and meditation in common each day, all with rancor. Snyder links communal life to a Great Subculture stretching back via the Quakers and alchemists to the Gnostics, the love-feasts, and Magdalenian cave painting. All of whose thinking, from the Wizard of Trois-Frères down to the books of Alan Watts, reflects the feeling "that man's natural being is to be trusted and followed; that we need not look to a model or rule imposed from outside in searching for the center."

Earth House Hold covers roughly the last decade and a half of Gary Snyder's life, with journal notes from his forest ranger and oil tanker days in the mid-fifties, essays and translations from his first trip to the Far East ten years ago, and the more recent writings on Tribe and communal life on Burning Island. The book avoids repeating itself. It doesn't harp, it doesn't get windy. It moves along like a stone skipping water, touching lightly for three or four jumps, then sinking deep. For example, this reflection on hunting (from his experience on Burning Island): "The necessities of identity, intuition, stillness, that go with hunting make it seem as though shamanism and yoga and meditation may have their roots in the requirements of the hunter – where a man learns to be motionless for a day, putting his mind in an open state so that his consciousness won't spook creatures that he knows will soon be approaching."

Silence and solitude, along with hard work (both communal or shared, and physical, as well as spiritual) stand at the center of this book. Snyder's poems are special because they come out of *repeated* experience: weeks on a tanker, many sessions of meditation, days of solitude, hours and hours in the lookout tower. In this the poems resemble and draw strength from the same sources as Indian poetry and song: repeated experience of the war-path and death, or of rain and fertility rites in the kiva, etc. In *Earth House Hold* we get a close glimpse of experience referred to in the poems, plus some intimation of why the experiences were (and are) meaningful to him.

The book's central essay, "Buddhism and the Coming Revolution," focuses on the fact that all things – pine trees, snakes, coyote – are alive and touched by the infinite. At a time when the "free world" has become a "fantastic system of stimulation of greed which cannot be fulfilled, sexual desire which cannot be satiated, and hatred which has no outlet except against oneself or the revolutionary aspirations of marginal societies like Cuba or Vietnam," Snyder sees the wisdom of the East

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and our archaic heritage as the best means of survival, and salvation. (The same wisdom that Jung plunged headlong into and spent his whole life writing out.) The wisdom leads to an altered sense of morality. A morality which does not condone the bombing of marginal farmers who live in straw huts, or the beating of children. A morality not at the beck and call of the power principle and false values. Gary Snyder quotes Blake: "If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite. But man closed himself up, 'til all he sees is through narrow chinks of his caverns." Gary Snyder wants to help pry those chinks open. *Earth House Hold* embodies a morality that is unharmful, that tends toward wholeness. An ethics not of the trigger or fist, but of the heart.

Reply to Alexander M. Bickel (IV)

The Debate over School Desegregation

If Professor Bickel's sober and sobering conclusion is sound, and primary-through-secondary schools will remain essentially segregated for the foreseeable future, the struggle for integrated education will shift to the colleges. This may already have been anticipated by diehard segregationists. It may even cast some light on the incredible performance of Vice President Agnew on Lincoln's Birthday when, as the spokesman for the Administration he delivered an attack on efforts by the nation's colleges and universities to increase the numbers of minority group students on their campuses. The attack was launched in defense of academic quality, an undeniably noble cause. The concern expressed, however, can be seen as relatively recent, given the near budgetary disaster that befell higher education in Maryland during Mr. Agnew's brief tenure as governor of that state. A more credible motive is the Nixon Administration's policy of holding down expenditures for education. To compensate for the educational disadvantages of segregated schools at the college level sharply escalates the cost per student. Remedial and compensatory programs for under-prepared students, not to speak of stipends for poor youngsters out of the ghettos, cost considerably more than what the state legislatures (with the notable exception of New York) are accustomed to allocating for higher education. The source for such additional funds would have to be in Washington.

Much of what is in store for the nation's cities can be seen in recent developments in New York City. Paradigm as it is of so much else, New York is likely to be paradigmatic in the way it handles race relations in its schools.

The drift in New York (one is tempted to say the drive) is clearly towards de facto segregation. By this I mean that the growing community control over the schools will effectively segregate them, whatever the law says. Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant will have their own school systems, largely if not exclusively under black control, and largely if not exclusively geared to black children. There will indeed be white presences, but for the next few years they will be tentative, nervous, and perhaps relatively meaningless.

There is, of course, a counter-current running through secondary education in the city of New York. And this is oddly enough the "selective" high schools, which clearly do not have any preoccupation with racial integration, but are just as clearly going to be the first high school steps on that path in the New York area. Schools such as the Bronx High School of Science (and parallel private schools such as Regis High School) will as time goes on integrate further and further. In order to do this they need do nothing but sit on their elitist pasts and wait for the black community to reach them. It will reach them, and it will change them substantially as it does.

If most of the high schools and the grammar schools are going to be segregated institutions for the foreseeable

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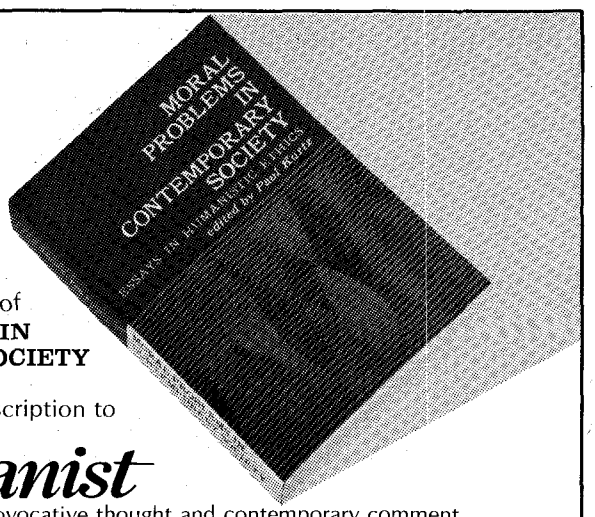
future, the struggle for integration will shift up to the colleges. On this level the black community has neither the strength nor the resources for total segregation; moreover neither community wishes or desires it. In that sense the colleges may very well be the image of the future.

Perhaps the most dramatic single exemplification of this thrust has been the decision of the City University of New York this year to move towards open enrollment. With already something like 14 percent of its student body drawn from minority groups, the City University looks toward reaching proportions which will be somewhat nearer 80 percent white to 20 percent black; in other words pretty much the proportion of black and white graduates from the city's high schools. There is no consolation for the city of New York or for its university in the fact that more than half of the black and Puerto Rican youngsters who start high school do not finish, and thus are in no way reachable even by the most liberal open admissions policy. The only reach the university could extend to these students is to take over some or all of the city's high schools; and that might create a monster more impossible to manage than either of the two which now exist.

The City University is equally conscious of the enormous problems that open enrollment will pose. Some four years ago it finally took a hard look at its physical plant problems, and although the wheels are churning as fast as (and as a matter of fact considerably faster than) the city's bureaucracy will allow, it will still take another four to five years before the word "adequate" can even begin to be applied to the facilities of which the university disposes. Thus its plant will in the coming year be strained to the bursting point, and a tidy sum must be set aside out of the open enrollment budget for rental of supplementary space. In addition, the university will face the largest single task of remedial work it has ever undertaken. It is already the most seriously extended institution of higher education in the United States in its SEEK and College Discovery programs, and open admissions will double these commitments. In addition, the University must cope with this influx of students without the weekly stipends which have been an essential part of the life of its 4000 SEEK students. Thus the students themselves will be able to give less time to their studies, and in consequence their progress through the remedial stages will be even slower.

But a thousand difficulties do not make one impossibility, and it was with this in mind that the Board of Higher Education unanimously entered on the road to open admissions. It is very easy to claim that the decision was political. Any decision with the kind of implications for the life of the city which open admissions has is bound to be political. But it would be much truer to say that the basis of the decision was the morality of citizens acting for the preservation of their city. At least for some years of their lives, black and white students will be together, with a common purpose, with common obligations, with common gripes, and perhaps with even some commonality of life style. What this could mean for the future of the city is almost beyond imagination. And allowing for even the highest imaginable rate of failure among the open admissions students, the program itself should guarantee that four to five years from now the City University will be turning back to the city (in some measure to the city's schools) between 500 and 1000 graduates a year, all of whom had previously been written off as useless for the twentieth century.

One of the most common charges against open admissions is that it will reduce the intensity with which students approach high school. The brighter ones, so the argument goes, are likely to figure that they can take only the easiest courses, and thus be sure of entering the college of their choice. There is no question that for some sharp operators this will be the effect. On the other hand, open admissions as it filters down to the high school will mean that every student knows that he has a fair chance at getting into college. With any luck at all this should mean that more will try than have ever tried before. If our luck gets national, and the forced draft of students into the colleges is removed (either by the end of hostilities in Vietnam or by a



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removal of the college draft exemption), we should in two or three years be dealing with one of the most promising student bodies this city has seen.

Like everything else in New York City this premise can, of course, be deeply ambiguous. There is no question that the strain on the University facilities and staff will be great. There is no question of the clear and ever-present risk of the grossest kind of failure. But in a curious sense Professor Bickel's article points up one reason for hope. Just as the City University seems to be the only single agency of the city capable of moving with decision and with practical effect in the morass of its racial conflict, so it may be the only educational agency which moves in the direction that American society must ultimately take, no matter how many digressions and bypasses lie along its way, and that is towards integration.

Timothy S. Healy

Rev. Healy *is Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the City University of the City of New York.*

Correspondence

The New Economics

Sirs:

The recent communication by Arthur Okun, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, corroborates completely (though unintentionally) my communication (Feb. 14) criticizing the New Economics.

The essence of my criticism was that the New Economics was seriously in error in that it set up a dichotomy between the problem of economic growth and the problem of distributive justice and social priorities. This false dichotomy destroyed all prospects even for sustained and adequate economic growth. The factual record on this is too clear to permit debate. The massive tax cuts of 1964 were based upon so erroneous an economic diagnosis that they generated a high but unbalanced rate of nonsustainable growth for two years, followed thereafter by three years of intensifying stagnation, and then by absolute recession, with accelerating inflation to boot.

Dr. Okun now tells us that economic growth was the "overriding priority" when the New Economics took over in the early 1960s, and that distributive justice and social needs are the "overriding priority" for the 1970s. Although I am grateful for the extent to which the New Economics in 1961 appropriated my prior emphasis upon economic growth (but not my program), I never urged, nor was it ever *true*, that economic growth was a good in itself. We knew in 1960 as in 1970 that poverty, excessive unemployment among vulnerable groups even when the nationwide "average" is low, slum housing, urban decay, overpriced medical care for millions of people, and shockingly deficient public schools, should not be slighted as seriously as they have been, either in terms of economic growth narrowly conceived or in the broader terms of national decency. And we all should have foreseen in the early 1960s, the social, civil, and political unrest which would follow from this default.

Conversely, we all should know, in 1970, that social needs and distributive justice cannot be achieved (and could be attempted in a big way only through destructive revolution) unless supported by restoration and maintenance of optimum economic growth.

Dr. Okun has misread Gunnar Myrdal. In his great book *Challenge To Affluence* (1962), he insists properly that distributive justice, social priorities, and economic growth are inseparable objectives. Myrdal says: "The thesis of this book is that it will not prove possible to change over the American economy to rapid and *steady* [italics added] growth and full employment without taking vigorous measures within the American nation to induce greater equality of opportunity and of standards of living." It is too bad that the New Economists did not ponder this book.

However, the weirdest conclusion reached by Dr. Okun is that the New Economists could not move with sufficient vigor toward distributive justice and social priorities because of political nonfeasibility. In the first place the New Economists went astray, not primarily because of amorality or political timidity or lack of recognition of the role of public leadership, but rather because they were fundamentally convinced of the healing nature of their bad economic medicine. In *The New Republic* shortly before James Tobin was appointed to the first Ken-

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nedy Economic Council, I took issue with his thesis that consumption should be restrained and the ratio of private investment to GNP increased.

The highly injurious investment tax credit was but one manifestation of this thesis. And not even the long economic stagnation and then recession, accompanied by rampant inflation, which in due course resulted from the policies of the New Economics, has led it to repudiate this thesis.

But let us accept, for the moment, Dr. Okun's meretricious argument that the New Economics was forced to take the wrong path because of an unfavorable political environment. How in the world does he then conclude that the environment in 1970, spawned largely by the New Economics, is more favorable to the commencement of a great crusade for distributive justice and social priorities?

We are again in a period of recession after long stagnation, just as in 1960. Due to this, and to a senseless orgy of tax reduction (repeated in 1969 with the accord of most New Economists), we again "do not have sufficient federal revenues to serve our public needs." There is still in vogue the erroneous economic philosophy (which the New Economists share) that a budget surplus should be used to fight inflation, even when the economy is stagnant, and even when the empirical evidence is mounting on all sides that stagnation accelerates inflation rather than cools it. There is still in vogue the criminal policy of tight money and rising interest rates (which the New Economists never strenuously resisted, and usually supported).

And if the President who wrote *Profiles in Courage*, with all his charisma and a heavy congressional majority, could not dare to distinguish between political risk and political impossibility, and to point the directions in which the nation should really move, how can Dr. Okun sound the tocsin for marching in that direction now? The objective economic circumstances are similar to those in early 1961. A conservative President, with quieting qualities rather than charisma, is now in the White House, and the Congress is now controlled by the opposing party. The American people have been further impregnated by the wrong-headed economics which the New Economists helped so much to disseminate. Just how is Dr. Okun, in this environment, going to mount the campaign which he abjured when he and his friends were in the saddle?

Leon H. Keyserling
Washington, D.C.

Escape to Suburbs?

Sirs:

Professor David Tyack, in his reply (March 7) to Alexander M. Bickel concerning school desegregation, states: "The nearly all-black metropolis with its white noose of Caucasian suburbs will increasingly become a fiction as economically mobile-Afro-Americans escape to suburbs from the slums." This rather optimistic prediction is, unfortunately, contradicted by the facts. Below is a Bureau of the Census table showing the percentage distribution of population within metropolitan areas by race, 1900–1960.

	Year	Total	White	Negro
Percentage	1960	100.0	82.4	16.8
inside	1940	100.0	90.1	9.6
central	1920	100.0	92.9	6.9
city	1900	100.0	93.3	6.5
Percentage	1960	100.0	95.0	4.6
outside	1940	100.0	94.1	5.5
central	1920	100.0	93.0	6.5
city	1900	100.0	90.7	8.9

Although the 1970 Census has not yet been compiled, preliminary reports indicate that the above proportions have not altered significantly. As is evident, blacks are not moving to the suburbs, despite their desire to escape the central city ghettoes and their rising incomes, largely because of discriminatory suburban zoning practices and the widespread practice of discrimination in the sale and rental of suburban housing units. In recognition of this reality, the NAACP is currently waging a campaign to compel suburban communities to restructure their zoning ordinances in order to permit the construction of lower- and middle-income housing units and to refrain from racial and ethnic discrimination in both the sale and rental of existing dwelling units. This campaign, if successful, will eventually result in a significant improvement in the housing welfare of urban blacks and will help considerably in eliminating the de facto residential segregation along racial, ethnic and economic lines that is so typical of our Northern cities. Moreover, it will facilitate school integration as well as these urban centers. Given this nation's preference for local or community

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schools, de facto school segregation follows de facto residential segregation. Conversely, neighborhoods of mixed socio-economic-racial composition imply the existence of local schools reflecting this mixture. In addition, fully integrated residential areas will reduce the need of the local community to resort to bussing to bring about integrated schools and, consequently, a major political obstacle to effective school desegregation will be removed.

Harris E. Hardon
Jersey City State College

Ecology Craze

Sirs:

Your note on "This Ecology Craze" (*NR*, March 7) serves more to defeat than to educate. It is true that "the Administration proposals are so weak as to be almost counter-productive" but at least the country is beginning to wake up to the serious problems of the environment. Just because Mr. Nixon's approach is no better than "an anti-litter campaign" we, who have been and will continue to be vitally concerned about the deterioration of the natural world, can not cease in our efforts to stabilize population, eliminate pollution, and preserve the balance of plant and animal life. We welcome all allies, be they radicals or Silent Majority, who are willing to make an attempt to "Give Earth a Chance" (the slogan for the Environmental Teach-In scheduled throughout the country for April 22).

Working toward environmental improvement does not necessarily preclude continued emphasis on other pressing problems. But if something is not done immediately about the ecological status of the world, leading scientists agree that dying cities, education, race relations, and poverty just won't matter any more, because life as we know it now will no longer exist. It may already be too late.

Kathleen Fralish
Carbondale, Ill.

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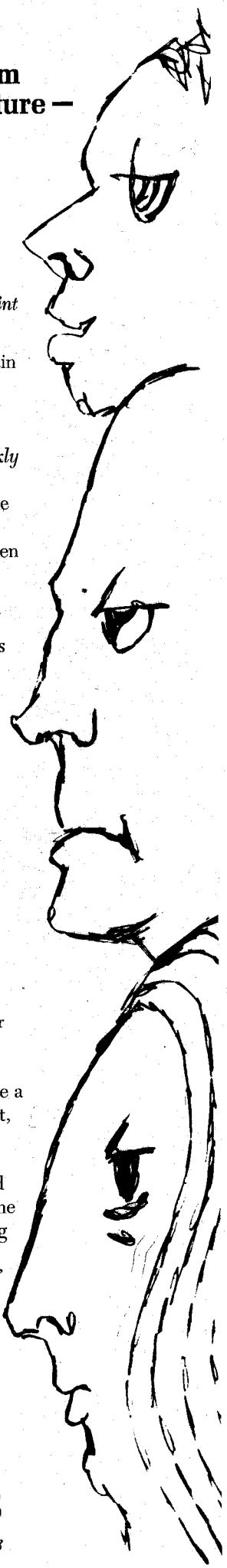

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Kauffmann, *from page 24*

stance, homosexuality in Petronius is part of the norm, but the most unbiased among us today knows that homosexuality is generally considered perverted or sinful; so Encolpius' love for Giton does not symbolize modern "dissolution." Fellini's reasons, I think, lie elsewhere. Moravia has recently reviewed the film (*New York Review of Books*, March 26) and after a couple of columns of banality on Petronius – compare Erich Auerbach! – he gets to what he considers the content of the film, which is "broadly speaking, religious. . . . To understand Fellini's special kind of religiosity, we believe that the greatest importance must be attributed to his manifest preference for the monstrous and impure. . . . One does not have to make a great effort of the imagination to trace back this preference . . . to a fascinated and funereal moralism." He then says that the difference between Petronius and Fellini is that the former is a realist and the latter is not. Auerbach (in *Mimesis*) agrees about Petronius only within strict historical limitations; I would agree about Fellini only with regard to his *Satyricon;* but in any event Moravia's analysis leaves unclear any internal reason, inferable by the viewer, as to why Fellini made this film. In short, what is there – in the picture itself – that enlightens us as to why this man, who has never made anything but contemporary films that were psychologically pertinent even when stylistically extravagant, has abandoned pertinence for extravagance: has chosen a subject that *freed* him of pertinence and allowed him to concentrate on the extravagance?

For me, the answer lies in flat contradiction of Moravia's statement that Fellini has "completely surmounted the personal crisis" with which his two previous full-length films were concerned. *Satyricon* wrestles with that crisis in another way, that is all. And that crisis makes a connection, at the very base, between this *Satyricon* and Antonioni's *Zabriskie Point*. Both are the works of mature artists that reflect the contemporary artist's relation to the world as material for art. Experience is not less than it was, it is too much more: our culture's expanded consciousness (within) and amplified communication (without) overwhelm and enervate some artists and produce, finally, a bankruptcy, rather than a surfeit, because of a sense of incompetence to deal with that amplified experience.

Still, artists must work or wither. Antonioni's solution, as I've discussed earlier, was an emigration to a different place and a different generation. Fellini's emigration was to the past: where his sense of futility and oppression was relieved of the necessity of point and *could express itself as a function of film-making itself.* Moravia is quite right about Fellini's moralism, but one large aspect of that moralism is in the artist's moral compunction to work. It is difficult – at least for me – to imagine Fellini making this film unless, in a way, he was forced to. *Satyricon* is a step past $8^1/_2$, which was about a director looking for a film to make and (despite the desperate ending) failing to find one. *Satyricon* is the film that Guido, the hero of $8^1/_2$, might have made.

The statement that Moravia himself recorded in his interview seems to me the root of the matter: the movies commanded Fellini to dream this dream because he is alive and his life consists of making films. It does indeed deal with the monstrous and impure, its moral tone is funereal. It might better have been called *Fellini Inferno*, rather than his *Satyricon*. But the inferno, I believe, is the sum of the conditions of life, and *his* life in particular, that forced him to make the film at all.

So the film depends for its being entirely on the way it is made. There are of course recognizable Fellini hallmarks: the silent opening (as in $8^1/_2$), the big fish (*La Dolce Vita*), the abrupt ending (like the freeze-frame at the end of *I Vitelloni*), the earth-mother whore (from several pictures). But it is the first Fellini feature film that has, in the post-Renaissance sense, no characters. There are only persons, some of whom are on screen more than others. The film has no cumulative story, let alone drama; there is not even a cumulation of adventures, in the picaresque manner; many of the sequences are simply scenes observed. *Satyricon* depends entirely on its look, and, unlike $8^1/_2$, which finally lives through its style, there are few afferents to bind us to the style, to make us care about it in anything more than a graphic-arts, "gallery" way – a way that is directly opposed to theatrical experience.

Fundamentally we simply look at Fellini's pictures, some of which are gorgeous, some rather predictably so, all of them tending toward darkness and away from light. (Sunlight actually kills one of the persons in the film and tortures some others.) Sex consists of lurid flickering lights in that darkness, whether they are glimpses of bright cubicles in a bordello or torches that magically ignite between a beautiful girl's legs. The scaly, scumbled walls, the faces that are fighting mortality, the pleasureless pleasures, the short-lived parodies of friendship and love and marriage, all of them are essentially pictorial, not dramatic – pictures from the dream of a man who once had exuberance and now has only dreams. It is the work of a master who knows, rather sombrely, that he still has a long time to live.

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100,000 signed this Declaration during the JOHNSON Administration.
NIXON is allowing death and destruction to continue and to increase.
Pressure and action against the war are needed.

Individuals Against the Crime of Silence

A Declaration **To Our Fellow Citizens Of The United States, To The Peoples Of The World, And To Future Generations:**

1 We are appalled and angered by the conduct of our country in Vietnam.

2 In the name of liberty, we have unleashed the awesome arsenal of the greatest military power in the world upon a small agricultural nation, killing, burning and mutilating its people. In the name of peace, we are creating a desert. In the name of security, we are inviting world conflagration.

3 We, the signers of this declaration, believe this war to be immoral. We believe it to be illegal. We must oppose it.

4 At Nuremberg, after World War II, we tried, convicted and executed men for the crime of OBEYING their government, when that government demanded of them crimes against humanity. Millions more, who were not tried, were still guilty of THE CRIME OF SILENCE.

5 We have a commitment to the laws and principles we carefully forged in the AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, at the NUREMBERG TRIALS, and in the UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. And our own deep democratic traditions and our dedication to the ideal of human decency among men demand that we speak out.

We Therefore **wish to declare our names to the office of the Secretary General of the United Nations, both as permanent witness to our opposition to the war in Vietnam and as a demonstration that the conscience of America is not dead.**

On September 23, 1965, a Memorandum of Law was incorporated in the Congressional Record of the 89th Congress of the United States of America, in which leading American attorneys, after careful analysis of our position and actions in the Vietnam War, came to the conclusion that the U.S. is violating the following accords: The Charter of the United Nations, The Geneva Accords of 1954, the United States Constitution.

To Protest—To Object—To Dissent has long been an American tradition. The following are a few among the many who have signed this declaration to be on permanent record.

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DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.
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I wish to sign my name to the above Declaration to the United Nations and want to go on record with this Declaration of the Individuals Against the Crime of Silence.

signature _____
For clarity, also print your name after your signature
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Sign, complete and mail to P.O. Box 69960, Los Angeles, Calif. 90069. The office of the Individuals Against the Crime of Silence will then forward the information to the United Nations.
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